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ABSTRACT

Contemporary research emphasises the dynamic intergroup nature of acculturation processes involving both immigrants and nationals. Using data from a sample of 372 U.S. national children (aged 6–9 years), we examine the relationship between acculturation attitudes, conceptualized as desire for cultural maintenance and desire for intergroup contact between immigrants and nationals, and attitudes towards Somali immigrants (intended behaviour, prejudice, perceived norms and intergroup anxiety). Prosocial behaviours were highest among children who simultaneously endorsed cultural maintenance and intergroup contact attitudes. These findings and their implications are discussed.

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1. Acculturation and social attitudes among majority children

Meaningful shifts in immigration are occurring around the world. In the United States, although the number of individuals granted lawful permanent residence or asylee status, admitted as refugees or as non-immigrants for a temporary stay (students or temporary workers) has remained relatively stable since the late 1980s, the group has changed in its composition: the number of African and Asian immigrants granted permanent residence has almost doubled since 2001, while the number of European immigrants has decreased almost by half (Rytina, 2010). In addition, approximately 11 million unauthorized immigrants were estimated to live in the United States in 2010, most of whom come from Mexico or South America (Hoefer, Rytina & Baker, 2010). Similar shifts have been seen in Europe, where England and France, for instance, have experienced an increase in grants of settlement to non-European Economic Area Nationals since the 1990s (Institute National de la Statistique et des Etudes Economiques, 2008; U.K. Border Agency Home Office, 2011).

These changes in societal composition have begun and will continue to prompt public debate. Whereas previous waves of immigration more likely brought newcomers who were phenotypically, religiously or linguistically similar to existing nationals; modern immigration does so less often. This poses key challenges for modern immigrants and nationals who face important questions about what immigrants should do when they arrive in their new homes: Should they maintain cultural ties? Adopt the values norms and beliefs of their new society through the development of intergroup relationships? Should they do both or possibly neither? Although both immigrants *and* nationals must consider these acculturative questions (Berry, 1997, 2003), research has tended to focus on how immigrants resolve them and the consequences of these decisions

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(Graves, 1967). Yet, the attitudes and expectations that non-immigrants develop about cultural maintenance and contact may well set the tone for intergroup relations, delineating whether and how immigrants will be welcomed (Berry & Kalin, 1995), thereby affecting the choices that they make (Neto, 2002; Lindert, Korzilius, van de Vijver, Kroon & Arendt-Toth, 2008; Zagefka & Brown, 2002). Similarly, most research has focused on adolescents and adults, neglecting to consider national children, which is interesting since it is likely that children have to navigate the same challenges as adults as they adapt to the changes brought on by immigration (Brown & Zagefka, 2011).

The current project furthers our understanding of the intergroup nature of acculturation by considering acculturation during early childhood (6–10 years), exploring the relationship between acculturative attitudes among non-immigrant children in the United States and their intended behaviours, feelings of prejudice and perceptions of normative behaviour towards Somali immigrant children, as well as their levels of intergroup anxiety. As non-immigrant children are larger in number than Somali immigrant children in the community in which the current research was conducted, they are referred to as the majority group within the following narrative.

1.1. Acculturation

Originally conceptualized by cultural anthropologists, acculturation represents the “phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups” (Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1936, pp. 149–152). According to this perspective, both immigrant and national group members have to resolve questions around *cultural maintenance*, or the degree to which the identity and characteristics of a culture of origin should be sustained, and *cultural contact*, or the degree to which social ties with the new culture should be developed. For immigrants, the resolution of these issues is more self-focused: what should “I” (or “we”) as an immigrant(s) do? For nationals, resolution often focuses on expectations or preferences regarding what immigrants should do.

Considering these two dimensions (cultural maintenance and cultural contact), Berry proposed four acculturative attitudes: *marginalization*, *separation*, *assimilation* and *integration*. Considering these from a national perspective, those who have little interest in immigrants maintaining their culture or in developing intergroup relationships, probably espouse marginalization attitudes. National group members espousing this stance probably feel as though the challenges of adapting to a new culture are so great immigrants will remain adrift between two cultures. Nationals who prefer or expect immigrant group members to maintain their traditional behaviours and customs and not to have significant contact outside of immigrant circles can be said to espouse separation attitudes. In contrast, assimilation attitudes involve the expectation or preference that immigrants will relinquish their cultural identity and characteristics and seek to ‘blend in’ with the dominant culture. Whereas separation and assimilation attitudes place an emphasis on *either* maintaining cultural ties *or* developing new ties, integration attitudes express an expectation or preference that immigrant group members will do both. These attitudes were later referred to by Berry (2010) as acculturation expectations and labeled exclusion, segregation, melting pot and multicultural respectively.

1.2. Acculturation and outgroup attitudes

There is evidence that acculturative preferences are linked with social attitudes for both national and immigrant group members. This relationship can be traced to the established connection between cultural contact and intergroup attitudes, with cultural contact under the right set of circumstances resulting in positive attitudes towards an outgroup (Allport, 1954; Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). There is also evidence that contact need not be direct to be effective: contemporary research links vicarious or extended contact, the mere knowledge that someone from your ingroup has had positive contact with someone from an outgroup, with more favorable outgroup attitudes among, adults, adolescents and children (Cameron, Rutland, Brown & Douch, 2006a; Tezanos-Pinto, Bratt & Brown, 2010; Turner, Hewstone & Voci, 2007; Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe & Ropp, 1997). Even imagined contact, where individuals simply visualize cross-group contact has been linked with positive outgroup attitudes (Crisp & Turner, 2009). Thus, simply expressing willingness, expectation or preference for cultural contact between immigrants and non-immigrants may be associated with positive intergroup attitudes (Brown & Zagefka, 2011). Moreover, the relationship between acculturative attitudes and intergroup relations may be causal, with greater desire for intergroup contact leading to more positive intergroup attitudes longitudinally (Gonzalez et al., 2010; Zagefka, Brown & Gonzalez, 2009).

Preferences for cultural maintenance are also linked with intergroup attitudes among adult nationals, as an emphasis on cultural maintenance indicates an acceptance of the immigrant group culture. However, neither intergroup contact nor cultural maintenance alone may be associated with the most positive attitudes: a sole emphasis on contact may connote the devaluation of cultural heritage, just as a sole emphasis on maintenance may connote disinterest in contact. A combination of desire for cultural contact and cultural maintenance has been consistently associated with the most positive social attitudes: national group adults and adolescents who favored integration demonstrated the lowest levels of ingroup bias in Germany, Slovakia and Switzerland (Pfafferott & Brown, 2006; Piontkowski, Florack, Hoelker, & Obdrzalek, 2000; Zagefka & Brown, 2002; Zick, Wagner, van Dick & Petzel, 2001).

2. Current project

2.1. Rationale and research objectives

The research reported here set out to investigate relationships between majority children's (aged 6–10) acculturation attitudes and their intergroup orientation towards a salient immigrant group: Somali immigrant children. Findings from previous research link integrated expectations with the most positive social attitudes among adolescents and adults. Although previous research indicates that national adolescents endorse integration at high rates (Phinney, Berry, Vedder & Leibkind, 2006), the primary focus of acculturative research during childhood has been on immigrant children (e.g. Costigan & Su, 2004; Nigbur et al., 2008; Vijver, Helms-Lorenz, & Feltzer, 1999).

There are important social and cognitive reasons to examine the acculturative expectations of national children. First, the nature and tone of social relationships during middle childhood have important consequences for adjustment throughout adolescence: rejected children are at higher risk for a number of negative outcomes during adolescence, including delinquency, criminality, school termination, or mental health difficulties (Morison & Masten, 1991). Thus, fostering the development of prosocial environments, where negative attitudes are minimized, is of special importance during middle childhood.

Next, throughout middle childhood, children develop cognitive skills to support and fine-tune their understanding of important social categories like race and ethnicity. For instance, children of this age become better able to understand social categorizations and make category based inductions, or generalize a property perceived to be true for some category members to other category members (Farrar, Raney & Boyer, 1992). Moreover, there is evidence that children aged 3–9 are prone to negative outgroup attitudes, particularly towards those outgroups they perceive as denigrated by their broader community (see Doyle & Aboud, 1995 for more discussion). When present, these attitudes likely get expressed overtly and covertly and contribute to the overall social environment into which immigrant children enter, setting the stage for the frequency and types of discrimination they may encounter, and affecting the attitudes they adopt. Researchers in Portugal and the Netherlands, for instance, have found that perceived discrimination is linked with acculturative attitudes among immigrant group adults, pushing them away from the acculturative stances linked with the most positive outcomes (Neto, 2002; Te Lindert, Korzilius, Van de Vijver, Kroon, & Arends-Tóth, 2008). Underscoring the importance of better understanding the types of acculturative attitudes linked with prosocial attitudes among majority children.

Within the current work, we hypothesized that a preference for cultural contact and cultural maintenance would be associated with the most favourable intergroup attitudes, emotions and behavioural intentions towards immigrants among majority children. This prediction was based, in part, on previous research with adolescents and adults. This prediction was also based on previous extended contact research with British national children, in which children exposed to messages promoting a dual identity, or that children can be connected to their culture of origin and the national culture at the same time, as part of an intervention reported significantly more prosocial attitudes than control children (Cameron, Rutland, Brown & Douch, 2006b).

Thus, the current study assesses acculturation attitudes conceptualized as desire for cultural maintenance and desire for intergroup contact, and attitudes towards Somali immigrants (intended behaviour, prejudice, perceived norms and intergroup anxiety). In addition, perceived ingroup norms about contact were assessed as an indirect indicator of intergroup attitudes. If children reported that they regarded it as (un)acceptable to have friendships with immigrant children, this could be informative for future intergroup attitudes (De Tezanos-Pinto, Bratt, & Brown, 2010). Intergroup anxiety was also included as an affective indicator of intergroup attitudes as it is well known that intergroup anxiety is implicated as a mediator of contact-prejudice relationships (Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008). Prior contact was included as a control variable in view of the well-established link between outgroup friendships and intergroup attitudes (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Self-esteem was also included as a control variable because of the role it plays in the attitude formation process, whereby children may bolster their self-esteem in part by developing negative attitudes towards an outgroup (Nesdale, Durkin, Maass & Griffiths, 2004; Nesdale, Maas, Durkin & Griffiths, 2005). Finally, age was also included as a covariate given established patterns between age and outgroup attitudes among children aged 3–9 (Doyle, Beaudet & Aboud, 1988); Williams, Best, Boswell, Mattson & Graves, 1975). Their inclusion allowed us to investigate the existence of associations between acculturation and intergroup attitudes, holding prior contact, self-esteem and age constant.

2.2. Community setting

The community in which this work was conducted experienced abrupt and significant social changes in 2001, when a large population of Somali refugees relocated to the area. With a population of approximately 36,000, this community was 97% European American prior to 2001. Since then, the population has swelled to include over 5000 new Somali residents.

In its heyday, the town had a strong and vibrant economy. Declining during the 1950s, when local mills began closing down due to decreased demand for goods following World War II, and a shift in the production of manufactured goods from Northern states to Southern states. In 2000, prior to Somali immigration, the median household income was \$29,191 with 15.5% of the general population living below the poverty line.

As recent refugees, the majority of Somali immigrants come with limited financial resources, formal education and English. Many may rely on public housing and public assistance while they gain the skills required to join the workforce;

up to 20% of Somali residents in the area of study were unemployed at the time of study. Given the service needs of the existing community, Somali residents are frequently perceived as drain on, and potential threat to, the availability of already limited public services. Competition for services and cultural differences pervade private and political community dialogues; although not endorsed by everyone, an air of unwelcome towards immigrants has become the norm, underscored by a series of unfortunate and public expressions of this sentiment. Better understanding the nature of acculturative expectations among this group and their linkages with positive social attitudes may help to inform the community regarding potential avenues for intervention.

3. Method

Participants were 358 children (50% female; mean age 7.71 years, range 6–9 years) who took part in a survey of attitudes towards immigrants and immigration. All participants were U.S. born citizens of two U.S. born parents or grandparents. The majority of the participants (324) were Caucasian, 22 were of Asian descent, 8 were of African American descent, 4 were of Hispanic descent, and attended schools in one of two urban areas in the Northern New England region of the United States. The majority of children at each school (80%) were of European American, non-immigrant descent.

3.1. Procedure

Participating children were recruited with the support and endorsement of their local school district and local school administration. Researchers were provided with a list of all 1st, 2nd and 3rd grade students eligible for participation and consent forms were sent home with all eligible students in their homework folder. These forms described the nature of the research, including sample questions, and parents were asked to return the form if they did not want their child to participate. Child assent was obtained prior to questionnaire completion. Questionnaires were counterbalanced and administered by trained research assistants in a 30-min one-on-one session. As a thank you, children were offered a small (\$3.00 value) toy. All procedures were approved by the institutional review board at the first author's institution, by individual schools, and by each school district's superintendent.

3.2. Measures

Acculturation attitudes were assessed using a set of 8 items designed for children by Zagefka and Brown (2002). Using these items, children indicated how much they wanted Somali immigrants to maintain their original culture (cultural maintenance) and how much they wanted Somali immigrants to have intergroup contact using a four point likert scale for which possible responses were indicated by the presence of increasingly large circles ranging from "not at all" (red X through circle) to "very much" (large green circle).

Preference for cultural maintenance was assessed through five items, an example of which read, "how much do you think they {Somali people} should wear traditional Somali clothes". Preference for intergroup contact was assessed through two items, a sample of which read, "do you think they should be friends with other American people who are not Somali". Cronbach's alphas for cultural maintenance and intergroup contact were .88 and .87 respectively.

To assess *outgroup attitudes*, children were presented with seven positive and seven negative adjectives and asked to indicate how many Somali people were that way. The positive words were kind, hard working, polite, clean, likeable, good and friendly. The negative words were unfriendly, rude, lazy, sloppy, dislikable, naughty/bad, and unkind. These adjectives were taken from the Preschool Racial Attitude Measure – II (PRAM – II) Series A (Williams, Best, Boswell, Mattson, & Graves, 1975). Using a four point likert scale children were asked to respond by choosing from an array of circles containing different numbers of stick people (see Abrams, Rutland, & Cameron, 2003) corresponding with the words, "none", "some", "most", and "all", which were written underneath each circle. The order of the adjectives was randomized for each child. Positive and negative outgroup attitude scores were calculated for each child. These scores ranged from 7 to 28. Cronbach's alphas for positive and negative adjectives were .78 and .75 respectively. An outgroup attitude score for each child was calculated by subtracting positive attitude scores from negative attitude scores. Thus, higher scores on this scale indicate more positive attitudes ($\alpha = .75$).

Intended behaviours were assessed using a series of short scenarios regarding future interactions with Somali children. First, children were told about a same sex Somali child named Fatima or Ismail (two Somali names which no Somali child at any participating school shared). Participating children were then told that Fatima or Ismail's family had to leave Somalia because they could no longer live there. Then, they were asked to indicate how much they would want to engage in six separate activities, ranging from playing with them on the playground, to having them over for dinner. Children were asked to indicate their interest using a five point Likert type scale, in which possible responses were indicated by smiley faces ranging from "not at all" (deep frown) to "very much" (big smile; (see Yee & Brown, 1992). One score representing the average response for intended behaviour items was calculated for each child. Higher scores on this scale indicated more positive intentions. Cronbach's alphas for positive and negative adjectives were .78 and .75 respectively.

Perceived norms were measured through the administration of three questions adapted from Tezanos-Pinto, Bratt and Brown (2010): "My friends would be happy to have friends who are Somali; "My friends are friendly towards children who are Somali; and, "If I had friends who were Somali my non-Somali friends would be happy to meet them". Children were

asked to respond to these questions using a five point Likert type scale, in which possible responses were indicated by smiley faces ranging from “not at all” (deep frown) to “very much” (big smile). One score representing the average response for intended behaviour items was calculated for each child ($\alpha = .64$).

To assess *intergroup anxiety* children were presented with a picture of several, same sex, Somali children that they did not know and asked to imagine that they were with them. Using a five point likert scale for which possible responses were indicated by the presence of increasingly large circles ranging from “not at all” (red X through circle) to “very much” (large green circle), children were presented with six adjectives (well, happy, afraid, nervous, calm, and worried) and asked to indicate how they would feel ($\alpha = .67$).

Prior contact with Somali immigrants was assessed using one item, “how many Somali friends do you have”, for which children were asked to indicate their response by choosing from one of five squares. Each contained a set of dots corresponding with the words, “none”, “one”, “two or three”, “four or five”, and “more than five”.

Self-esteem was assessed using the general self-esteem items drawn from Harter's (1982) self-esteem scale. Consistent with the administration of this measure, children were asked first to think about what type of child they are by choosing between two possible responses. For instance, they were given the statement, “some kids are usually happy with themselves as a person” and the alternative statement, “other kids are often not happy with themselves”, and asked to indicate which statement best described their feelings. Next they were asked to indicate whether their choice was “very true”, or “a little bit true” of themselves. Responses were tracked using a four point likert scale. One score representing the average response for self-esteem items was calculated for each child. Reliability for these items was below the standard threshold ($\alpha = .55$), but self-esteem was maintained as a control variable because of the role that it plays in the attitude formation process. Moreover, scores on this scale were significantly related to relevant outcomes (see Table 1).

4. Results

Means and standard deviations of all measured constructs, and their intercorrelations, are reported in Table 1. From that table, several points should be noted. Their self-esteem was moderately high, being above the mid-point of the scale ($M = 3.38$, $t(355) = 28.77$, $p < .001$), their intended intergroup behaviours were clearly positive ($M = 3.77$, $t(354) = 17.03$, $p < .001$), as were their perceived norms about intergroup friendships ($M = 4.09$, $t(355) = 22.38$, $p < .001$) and their intergroup attitudes ($M = 8.76$, $t(355) = 21.64$, $p < .001$). Finally, their levels of intergroup anxiety were relatively low ($M = 2.36$, $t(354) = -4.03$, $p < .001$). Note that the mean for culture maintenance was slightly above the mid-point of the scale ($M = 3.07$; $t(354) = 27.12$, $p < .001$), and above the mid-point for desire for contact ($M = 3.51$; $t(354) = 26.03$, $p < .001$). In summary, this sample of majority children mildly preferred that their immigrant peers should integrate to the majority culture and held broadly positive attitudes toward them.

4.1. Pattern of acculturation attitudes

Hierarchical and K Means cluster analyses were conducted in conjunction with one another to further explore the pattern of acculturative attitudes within the data (Chavous et al., 2003; Hair & Black, 2000). This technique has the advantage of identifying emergent patterns in the data rather than imposing a structure through median split. First, a hierarchical cluster analysis was performed using Ward's method with Squared Euclidean Distance to identify the number of groupings that could be said to fit the data. The agglomeration schedule was examined to identify the fusion coefficient that would indicate the maximum number of distinct groups. A large decrease in the value of the fusion coefficient occurs when similar clusters are joined, so the prior number represents the solution with the most distinct clusters. An examination of the fusion coefficient

Table 1
Means, standard deviations and correlations.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
1. Prior contact									
2. Age	-.03								
3. Self-esteem	.01	.04							
4. Cultural maintenance	-.13*	-.05	.07						
5. Cultural contact	-.01	.01	.14**	.79***					
6. Intended behavior	.20***	.00	.03	.21***	.19***				
7. Outgroup attitudes	.17***	-.05	.12*	.10*	.06	.37***			
8. Perceived norms	.34***	.04	.14**	.17***	.20***	.45***	.33***		
9. Intergroup anxiety	-.13**	-.05	-.07	.02	.00	-.36***	-.29***	-.28***	
M	2.87	7.73	3.38	3.07	3.51	3.78	8.76	4.09	2.36
SD	1.35	.88	.58	.71	.73	.87	5.76	.91	.64

* $p < .05$.

** $p < .01$.

*** $p < .001$.

Table 2

Standardized means for cultural maintenance and cultural contact groupings.

	Marginalized		Separated		Assimilated		Integrated	
	M (SD)	z	M (SD)	z	M (SD)	z	M (SD)	z
Cultural maintenance	1.15 (.90)	–2.72	3.03 (.50)	–.7	2.52 (.43)	–.77	3.61 (.29)	.75
Cultural contact	1.0 (.81)	–3.43	2.73 (.39)	–1.07	3.82 (.31)	.42	3.90 (.23)	.52

for the current data supported a four cluster solution. K Means cluster analyses specifying a four cluster solution was then utilized to explore homogenous groupings among standardized cultural maintenance and cultural contact variables.

Using these clusters, group membership was defined in the context of Berry's (1997) acculturation model. This resulted in one cluster ($n = 11$) that had significantly lower scores on the cultural maintenance and desire for contact subscales which was classified as marginalized. A second cluster ($n = 82$) with higher scores on cultural maintenance and lower scores on cultural contact was classified as separated. A third cluster represented assimilation ($n = 106$), with lower cultural maintenance and higher cultural contact scores. The final cluster was classified as integrated ($n = 159$) with higher scores on both cultural maintenance and cultural contact. In sum, this sample of majority children preferred their immigrant peers either to assimilate or integrate. Standardized means for the cultural maintenance and cultural contact subscales for each cluster can be found in Table 2.

4.2. Pattern of acculturation attitudes

To investigate the relationships between acculturation attitudes and intended behaviour, outgroup attitudes, perceived norms and intergroup anxiety, a set of hierarchical multiple regressions were conducted. Three covariates (prior contact, age and self-esteem) were entered in Step 1 of each model. In Step 2, the two acculturation dimensions were entered (cultural maintenance and cultural contact) centered by the means (Aiken & West, 1991). As depicted in Table 3, considering the main effects of cultural maintenance and cultural contact (Step 2), children expressing a preference for cultural maintenance (by the minority) reported higher scores for intended behaviour and more positive outgroup attitudes. Desire for contact had no reliable effects on its own.

The product of the two acculturation dimensions was entered to test for an interaction in Step 3. Significant cultural maintenance by cultural contact interactions were detected for intended behaviour $F(6, 348) = 11.78$, $p < .001$, outgroup attitudes $F(6, 349) = 5.82$, $p < .001$, perceived norms $F(6, 349) = 24.03$, $p < .001$ and intergroup anxiety $F(6, 349) = 2.10$, $p < .05$. Simple slopes depicting each dependent variable at 1 standard deviation below and 1 standard deviation above the mean for cultural contact can be found in Figs. 1–4. Overall, findings indicate that intergroup orientations were most favourable among children who simultaneously endorsed cultural maintenance and cultural contact attitudes. For instance, the highest intended behaviour scores were reported among children who also reported high scores on both the cultural maintenance and cultural contact scales (Fig. 1). Examining this differently, while a one-unit increase in cultural maintenance generally

Table 3

Prosocial outcomes as a function of acculturation attitudes in a hierarchical linear regression analysis.

	Intended behavior		Outgroup attitudes		Perceived norms		Intergroup anxiety	
	β	R^2	β	R^2	β	R^2	β	R^2
Step 1		.05		.04		.14		.02
Prior contact	.22***		.06**		.34***		–.13**	
Self-esteem	.01		.12*		.12**		–.06	
Age	.00		–.05		.05		–.03	
Step 2		.11***		.06*		.19***		.02
Prior contact	.25***		.17***		.37**		–.13*	
Self-esteem	–.01		.12*		.10*		–.06	
Age	.00		–.04		.05		–.04	
Cultural maintenance	.20*		.18*		.12		.02	
Cultural contact	.06		–.08		.12		–.01	
Step 3		.16***				.29***		.03*
Prior contact	.20***		.14**		.30***		–.11*	
Self-esteem	–.01		.09		.05		–.04	
Age	.05		–.06		.00		–.02	
Cultural maintenance	.33***		.28***		.34***		–.39	
Cultural contact	.28***		.08		.60***		–1.12	
Maintenance \times contact	.42***		.31***		.74***		–1.92*	

* $p < .05$.** $p < .01$.*** $p < .001$.

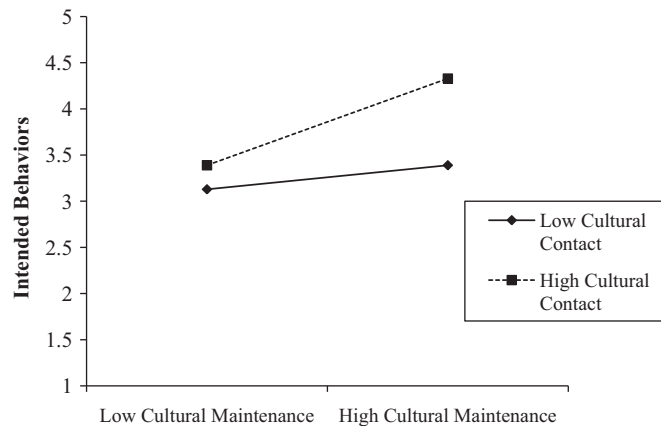


Fig. 1. Intended behaviors as a function of cultural maintenance and cultural contact attitudes. Lines depict simple slopes predicting intended behaviors at 1SD below (low) and 1SD above (high) the average emphasis for cultural contact.

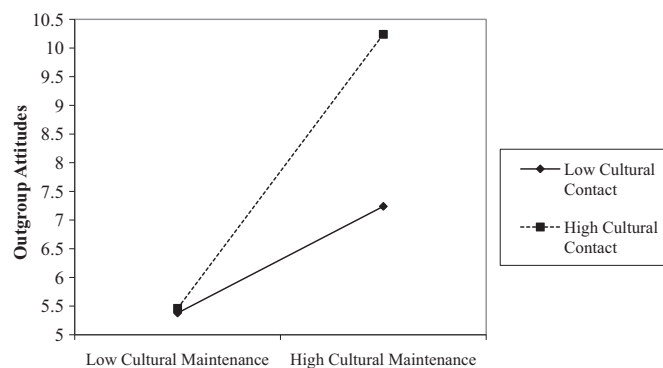


Fig. 2. Outgroup attitudes as a function of cultural maintenance and cultural contact attitudes. Lines depict simple slopes predicting intended behaviors at 1SD below (low) and 1SD above (high) the average emphasis for cultural contact.

translated into a .36 unit increase in intended behaviour, an emphasis on cultural contact tended to enhance this prospect further (.58), and a low emphasis on cultural contact detracted from it (.14). The same patterns emerged for outgroup attitudes (Fig. 2), perceived norms (Fig. 3) and intergroup anxiety (in the reverse direction, Fig. 4). Thus, as anticipated, an integrationist acculturation attitude held by these majority children was consistently associated with more favourable intergroup attitudes, intended behaviours, norms about cross-group friendships and less intergroup anxiety.

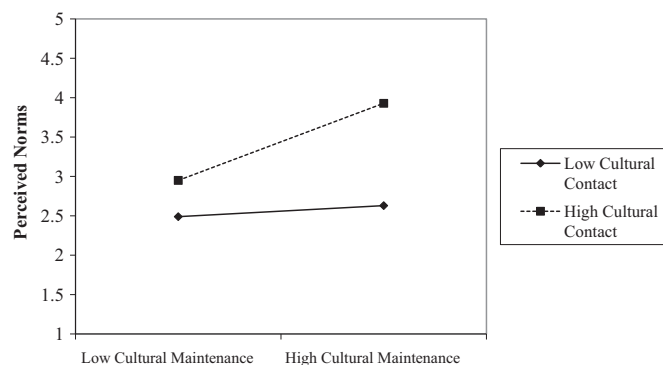


Fig. 3. Perceived norms as a function of cultural maintenance and cultural contact attitudes. Lines depict simple slopes predicting intended behaviors at 1SD below (low) and 1SD above (high) the average emphasis for cultural contact.

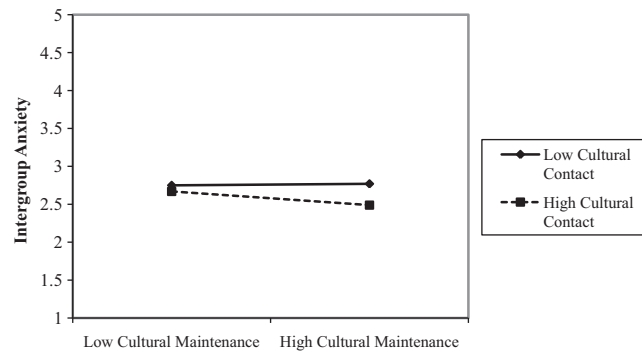


Fig. 4. Intergroup anxiety as a function of cultural maintenance and cultural contact attitudes. Lines depict simple slopes predicting intended behaviors at 1SD below (low) and 1SD above (high) the average emphasis for cultural contact.

5. Discussion

The current study makes two important contributions to the acculturative literature. First, the presence and patterning of acculturative expectations among national participants supports the relevance of the four expectations conceptualized by Berry (1997, 2003, 2010) for children. Moreover, the relative size of each acculturative group represented in the current research indicates the most support for integration, with the numbers for assimilation, separation and marginalization following in that order, which is consistent with previous work with adolescents (Phinney et al., 2006).

Next, the current work contributes to existing knowledge by linking the endorsement of acculturative attitudes that emphasise integration (cultural contact *and* cultural maintenance) among majority children with higher levels of prosocial intergroup attitudes and intentions towards their Somali immigrant peers. We discuss these findings in terms of acculturative attitudes during childhood, noting the importance of integration and considering implications and limitations of this research.

5.1. The importance of an integrated identity

Overall, the results indicate that the most favourable intergroup attitudes and intended behaviours were evident among children who simultaneously endorsed cultural maintenance and cultural contact attitudes, which is characteristic of an acculturative emphasis on integration (Berry, 1997). Specifically, majority children expressing a preference for an integration orientation by immigrants reported more positive attitudes about and more positive intentions towards their Somali peers, greater perception that Somali/non-Somali interactions were normative, and lower levels of anxiety about such interactions. Thus, majority children who expected that their immigrant peers will both practice and maintain linguistic, religious and social ties to their culture of origin while simultaneously developing ties to the dominant culture reported feeling more positively about their immigrant peers. These findings are consistent with previous research with older participants in which a combination of desire for cultural contact and cultural maintenance were associated with the most positive social attitudes towards immigrants (Pfaferott & Brown, 2006; Piontkowski et al., 2000; Zagefka & Brown, 2002; Zick et al., 2001).

Although endorsement of cultural maintenance alone was also associated with positive outcomes, this relationship was limited to two social attitude domains (intended behaviour and outgroup attitudes) and the predictive values of models incorporating maintenance as an independent predictor were outstripped by the simultaneous inclusion of maintenance and contact combined. Interestingly, desire for contact alone did not predict prosocial attitudes within any of the models, which may indicate that the causal link between desire for intergroup contact and positive intergroup attitudes uncovered among adolescents (Gonzalez et al., 2010; Zagefka, Brown & Gonzalez, 2009) may not extend to children. For children, desire for contact alone may connote concerns, confusion or misunderstandings regarding cultural practices that undermine the development of positive attitudes or future intentions regarding interaction. However, additional research is necessary before this conclusion can be drawn. Further, the cross-sectional nature of this project offers little insight into the potentially developmental nature of acculturation among majority children. Future work should confirm and explore these findings longitudinally.

5.2. Implications of this research

The current findings can be used to inform interventions designed to improve intercultural relations during childhood. Specifically, interventions incorporating messages that children can identify with two groups at the same time may be particularly well poised to bring about attitude change. To illustrate this we can consider recent research using the extended contact paradigm, which operates on the principle that improved attitudes may result from vicarious experiences of friendship – that is, knowledge of ingroup members being friends with outgroup members (Wright et al., 1997). Several studies

have provided supportive evidence for this hypothesis (Tezanos-Pinto, Bratt & Brown, 2010; Feddes, Noack & Rutland, 2009; Liebkind & McAlister, 1999; Turner, Hewstone & Voci, 2007, 2008; Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe & Ropp, 1997).

Researchers have explored the efficacy of extended contact interventions among children through the use of picture books in which ingroup children are depicted as having close friendships with outgroup children. Within this work, stories are read to primary school children in small group settings (2–3 children per group), after which a researcher leads the group in a discussion about the story that emphasises a take home message (e.g. the normalcy of ingroup children playing with outgroup children). In previous research, children receiving an extended contact intervention were significantly less likely to endorse prejudiced statements (e.g. outgroup members are stupid, dirty, mean or ugly) than children in a control group who were not read any stories (Cameron et al., 2006a).

Using this technique, researchers have manipulated the types of messages children receive regarding intergroup relationships to accentuate decategorization, common group, or dual identity emphases. Findings link dual identity messages with the most positive outcomes among majority children (Cameron et al., 2006b). Dual identity messages and integrative acculturation strategies are very similar as both allow for the possibility of outgroup children maintaining ties to their culture of origin while developing ties in their new society. Thus, the current findings are consistent with those from extended contact work. As children reporting an integrative acculturation emphasis within the current study were more likely to report prosocial attitudes, it is not surprising that a dual identity emphasis within an intervention context could foster positive attitudes. However, future research is necessary to examine whether children assigned to the dual identity condition within an extended contact context adopt an acculturative stance that is consistent with integration.

5.3. Limitations and future directions

The current research focused on majority group children, empirically exploring the relationship between acculturative strategy and social attitudes. Although illuminating important processes within a previously under researched group, children, future research is necessary to explore whether the benefits of an integrationist stance also apply to the social attitudes of immigrant group children. Similarly, the current project was conducted in a very specific context, one in which intergroup tensions have been high. There is evidence that acculturative strategies may have different adaptive strategies within different contexts, and that integration type strategies may not represent the most adaptive strategy for academic success for immigrant adolescents in environments where perceived identity threat is high (Baysu, Phalet & Brown, 2011). Thus, future research should further explore acculturative strategies among both immigrant and national children across multiple contexts.

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